1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.

[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members
769 of the family which may include brothers, cousins, and nephews.
But if, for example, the head of the family has a nephew whose
782 father is dead, why should the nephew not go direct to his father's
596 grave? The answer is that he has a living "father" in the person of his uncle, to whom in the ordinary way he takes his troubles. His wives may have run away, or he may have been unsuccessful in begetting children, or unfortunate in other respects. So he goes to his uncle and says: "I am luckless in all I do; perhaps it is because I have offended you." His uncle will take ashes, touch them with his tongue, spit them out, and say: "You have not offended me." The nephew may then say, "Perhaps it is because of some offence I committed against my father in his lifetime." The uncle would reply, "That may be, but let the matter rest at present." If the nephew is still pursued by ill-luck he would again approach his uncle, who would say, "Very well, I will take you to your father's grave and you can there make your offering."

782 The points to be noted are that if you have a living father
769 you take your trouble to him, and that even if your own father
592 is dead and you have a senior living relative you would not go to your father's grave without reference to him. Other noteworthy points are that neither males nor females make offerings
[562] at the grave of old women, though the death of an old woman is honoured by the same rites that mark the death of an old man. A woman has to make her petition to a dead father through a male. Women, indeed, appear to engage directly in no religious rites at all. The household head is thus the household priest, and the services of the high priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, are not ordinarily required even at harvest time, when each household, through the senior male, offers thanks with the first-fruits at the graves of the ancestors for the yearly
[793] supply of food. But on special occasions the assistance of the priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, is sought. Thus, if things are constantly going wrong in a house recently occupied, the householder may report the matter to the Magaji Elenowum, who may say that the trouble is due to resentment on the part of the ghost of the former householder, either for some neglect during his lifetime or on account of an improper burial. And so the new householder goes to the grave of the former householder and deposits beer and a dish of beniseed, to which some

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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scraps of meat have been added. Next day, accompanied by the Magaji and his assistants, and by the senior relatives of his household, he goes to the graveside. The Magaji inspects the dish of beniseed, and, if the ancestral ghost has partaken, there will be found in the dish a few hairs of the hide of some bush animal. Needless to say it is the Magaji alone who may make the inspection, and the hairs are always found. The youngest of the Magaji's assistants then offers a prayer: "I declare to our ancestral spirit that, if I have done him wrong, I come to him to seek forgiveness. I repent in order that I may find good fortune on earth at his hands. May Gwaza (God) grant that I may be blessed with children and wealth." The other assistants in turn make similar prayers, and finally the Magaji himself concludes by saying: "We have made common prayer and it has been received. Absolution has been granted you. Begone all of you to the bush, and may Gwaza prosper you and give you quarry to bring to me. If you fail to obey this command, then the blame is with you and has nought to do with your forefathers." They all rejoice and say they will go forthwith. The priest then takes the beniseed and meat offerings and gives a little to the head of the household and his companions in turn. He gives some of the beer to the householder, drinks some himself, and hands on the remainder to the others. Any of the beer left over has to be drunk by the priest himself. The young men then go off to hunt, and the quarry is brought to the priest, who divides it up among the members of the household and his own assistants, the major portion going to the priest and to the individual who had brought the quarry down.

It may be interesting to describe here the ceremony of reconciliation between two members of a family. It may be that a younger brother has quarrelled with an elder, and in a fit of temper the elder has told the younger that he never wishes to see his face again. This amounts to an imprecation, which the younger brother may ignore for some time. But the remembrance of it will rankle in his mind, and circumstances will soon arise which will make the memory of the imprecation intolerable. Sickness may invade his house. And so he will resolve that the time has come for an atonement. With a flask of beer and a chicken he will go to his brother, and in the presence of the senior members of the family will formally repent, asking

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931.
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for the withdrawal of the curse and putting some ashes on his tongue and spitting them out. M. Junod describes an exactly similar rite of reconciliation among the Bantu-speaking Thonga of South Africa.[1]

As regards the future life and psychological beliefs, the Katab's ideas are, like our own, of an indeterminate character. For the abode of the dead he uses the Muslim term "Lahira", and he believes that the majority of the spirits of the dead are content to remain there. One who has done evil in his lifetime will be punished in "Lahira" by the ancestral spirits. It is the discontented and evil spirits that return to the world to trouble men. The Katab does not appear to have any conception of a multiple soul. The breath and shadow are associated with the soul. If anyone falls ill it is because the soul has left the body temporarily. His soul leaves his body when he goes to sleep, and it is the re-entry of the soul which causes him to dream. During the day the soul may become partially dissociated and follow him about, and for this reason a man will sometimes turn quickly on the road, thinking there is someone at his back. The soul of a witch can be seen at night giving off fire. There does not appear to be any conception of a bush soul, but the souls of certain animals are believed to be able to enter a man's body. Thus if a hunter kills a roan he immediately fumigates himself and his house with some smoking medicine. The soul of a dead enemy must also be warded off by rites to be described later.

Reincarnation ideas are not prominent, but in certain cases the dead are believed to be reborn. Thus the posthumous child of a hunter who was killed in the bush may be the hunter himself reborn, and the mark of the shot which killed him may be seen in the child's leg. A man who had met a violent death may be born again as the son of his remarried widow, bearing on his body the mark of the wound which had caused his death. These beliefs appear to be based on well-known physiological facts. It is of interest to note that if a widow (or widower) dies, she (or he) is met on the other side by the soul of her (or his) first husband (or wife), i.e. it is a man's first wife who is regarded as his true wife.

Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the

[1] *The Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, p. 371.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

or maximal lineage, members recognize a direct descendant of their common ancestor as their head (*gado kapiyi*, in Hausa, Magajin gada). His direct interest within the major lineage is more intense than that of the *atiyinhwap* in the maximal lineage. After the *gado kapiyi* has beaten the ground with his stick no one in the major lineage would dare to disobey. Again, in the minor lineage, composed of a number of extended families, the head is *atiyinswot*, "father of the cluster." Although the position is usually hereditary, the son or blood-brother being preferred, it may be held by the senior elder of the minor lineage.[112] His powers are more limited than those of the *gado kapiyi*, but if he beats the ground with his right hand no one of the minor lineage would dare to disobey. All game killed by members of the lineage must be brought to him for distribution. The head of the extended family (minimal lineage) is *atiyikariyi*, "father of the compound."

According to Reynolds, "the *atiyinhwap* of the Baidnang tribal section is recognized as the final authority in affairs affecting the welfare of the tribe. This authority was not used to interfere in affairs of a maximal lineage other than his own, and he had no political authority," which is to say that there was no formal tribal government. He might, however, call together all *atiyinhwap* "to perform rites for the benefit of the whole tribe," an expedient to which, apparently, he has not resorted since the advent of British Administration.

Before the British, only two civil titles were recognized by Kaje villages, *agwam*, the name given by Kaje to the Fulani tribute collectors, and *madaki*, who was chosen by the *agwam* whom he served as "helper." The *agwam* were first chosen by the *atiyinhwap*, but later, when their number increased and where the major lineage was the political unit, the *gado kapiyi* would make the selection.

Much the same procedure seems in the matter of civil headships to have been followed in the early years of British Administration, but it is suggested that these titles have by now become in effect hereditary in certain lesser lineages. In recent years a few ritual leaders have shown some interest in the possibility of obtaining civil titles either for themselves or for close relatives.

Traditions

According to Reynolds, Baranza (the founding ancestor) and his relatives left Miango[113] because of a famine. They came down from the hills and after spending a short time with the Chawai eventually settled at Kurmin Bi, a hamlet of Zonkwa Village-area. There, according to Reynolds' informants, Kaje, or Kurmin Bi, was born. In Reynolds' opinion they do not mean that a son was born to Baranza, but rather that the tribe's development stems from Baranza's taking up residence with his family at this place. Nevertheless the ancestors of the Kaje clans are termed by present-day Kaje the grandsons of Baranza, hence, presumably, the sons of Kaje (Kurmin Bi). These grandsons were Sokwap, Kaduan, Dando, Atun and, according to members of Baintsok section, a fifth, Atom, whom Baintsok claim as their ancestor. Sokwap was the first to break away from Kurmin Bi and he settled on the Kamuru (Kaje) hills. He was followed by Dando and then Kaduan. Finally, so the Baintsok hold, Atom broke away and went to Tsofon Gida. Atun remained at Kurmin Bi. The sixth "tribal section," is composed entirely of assimilated alien lineages. A summary of Reynolds' analysis of the various sections follows.

Baiduang: men of Duang (*a stream*): It appears that the six constituent major lineages of Baiduang are organized as a single maximal lineage. Traditionally Baiduang is said to have been exogamous; nowadays the exogamous unit is a local association of major lineages. Formerly Baiduang was also a unit as regards secondary marriage, but in recent years young men of each of the two Village-

[112] In function, Reynolds states that the present-day hamlet-head is most nearly the equivalent of the old *agwam*. As already mentioned, he fails to indicate the actual title of the hamlet-head under British Administration.

[113] An Irigwe (tribe) Village-area, Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province. See map.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five
[768] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

●596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
797 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
797 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

589 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.

[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.
582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three
[834] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the
[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the

175 311 241 612 423 20. An explanation of this state of affairs is to be found in the historical background. In pre-British times when the Kagoro lived in the hills and came down to farm the plains it was the customary practice for a kindred or even a family group to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact block. The idea was that all the family eggs should not be in the same basket. If one particular area happened to be raided by the Fulani then, though the kindred or family might lose the produce of one particular farm, they would have other farms in other areas to fall back on; whereas had they been farming in only one place and in one compact block they would have lost everything they had. Consequently when the British rule brought peace and security the kindreds did not come down from the hills to settle in single compact blocks but came down to their split up and dispersed farms over the whole of the area. Whether or not the concept of a kindred holding of the land may have existed in the past it is certain that it does not exist now. It would have been undermined from the very start.

Breakdown to individual tenure.

423 311 596 888 21. The breakdown has gone much farther than the kindred. Whereas up to about twenty years ago it could truthfully have been said that it was the exception to the rule to find a man and his immediate family living and farming on his own, it is now the exception to the rule to find an extended family or family group living and farming together. In two cases that were investigated in the field it was found that the " family " lands had been divided up while the father was still alive. In the one case the father was too old to farm and in the second had suffered an injury some ten years ago which had prevented him from carrying on strenuous farming. In both cases the father was relatively hale and hearty and quite alert of mind. Nevertheless they were both prepared, since they could take no active part in the farming of the land themselves, to wash their hands of the matter and give their adult children their portion of the family lands. The only say they retained in the matter was in respect of the minor's portion and the division of the fallow lands. Fallow would not be divided up until it was actually required when as much as was required would be allotted to the son and this would then come under his control. Discussion with responsible opinion confirmed that this was a general practice and was quite common and widespread.

651 596 162 476 22. An interesting check on the above is available from the tax lists. These lists show, together with the name of each 'householder', the name of each adult tax payer living in the compound. It was confirmed by the District Head and Elders that where in the list a number of adult males were listed

together in one household then it was probable that they were farming their lands together though this was not an infallible sequitur. Where, however, a man was listed as a separate householder it could be categorically stated that in that case the family lands had been divided and the householder was living and farming on his own with no other relations than his children. The tax lists for 1947 shew that in no case were more than six adult males living and farming together. One or two cases were found of six adult males farming together; a small number of cases of four or five; but the vast majority of compounds consisted of no more than one, two or three adult males. The average number of adult males per compound is 1.6 and the average number of persons eight.

23. Unfortunately the tax lists for the pre-war years have all been destroyed and an interesting comparison has been lost. A few of the tax sheets for 1939 were found and the same average number of 1.6 males per compound was found shewing that the breakdown has existed for a number of years. It is universal throughout the district. Discussion with the Elders confirmed this situation.

24. The extent of the breakdown appears to be greater here than in the adjoining Katab district of the Emirate. The reasons for it lie in the circumstances set out in paragraph 20 above, *i.e.*, the kindred holding concept was undermined from the very start owing to the fragmentation of the kindred lands. Another contributory factor is that the advent of peace and security has removed the sanctions which formerly made group or communal living if not absolutely necessary then advisable in the extreme. With the perpetual threat of a Fulani raid it would have needed a major family convulsion to cause a man to leave the security and mutual protection afforded by communal living. Nowadays the merest family tiff will result in the individual demanding his portion of the family lands and going off to farm on his own.

25. It cannot be said, at the moment, that the breakdown has occasioned any grave *local* social problem. The lands that were so precariously available to the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation were more than ample for their greatest needs had they been allowed to farm with security. These lands have been divided and sub-divided; but there still remains to the present day users a sufficiency for their needs and something to spare. It is true that the various fields are widely scattered. But, points out the Elder, this fragmentation is something that the Kagoro has always been accustomed to and presents no novel feature

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[p.6]

000 73. Discussion of land tenure within this Hausa enclave is reserved for the section of the report dealing with Mohammedan Hausa tenure. We are here concerned with any deviations and divergences in this district's pagan tenure from that described in previous paragraphs.

Katab tenure breakdown to individual tenure.

74. Mr Barnicott, District Officer, reported in 1933:—

● 596 423 241 "Farming . . . . . particularly amongst the Katabawa is carried out on a semi-patriarchal basis. Nearly all the farms of each household belong to the head of the household and are handed down from generation to generation. The householder may not—and often does not—work on the farm himself but, as the owner, makes himself responsible for all the tax of the household; the junior members of the family and the women do the work and since the product of their labour is not strictly their own are not encouraged to accept responsibility for payment of tax".

[311] "The comparatively large area of seven acres is farmed by the average Katab family".

"The farm is run as a family concern and its produce cannot be apportioned . . . . . to each of the individual tax payers varying from one to as many as five or six who work on it".

75. Mr Elliott, District Officer, writes in 1943:—

"Each householder has a home farm in the immediate neighbourhood of his house. The home farm amounts to an area of about one to four acres—roughly an acre per adult male in the household. Then, anything up to four miles away in the open country round the village the householder has his main farm".

[592] "The size of the household is surprisingly small, perhaps indicating a recent tendency for families to split up and farm separately. The average household . . . . . consisted of an old man . . . and a son who does all the farming who may perhaps be helped by a younger brother who is too young to pay tax. Out of the 142 farms surveyed the total number of the tax paying (*i.e.*, adult) farmers working them was no more than 205".

361 592 162 76. The following figures compiled from the 1947 tax lists (*see* paragraph 22 above) are of interest:—

Katab (*a*) Average number of adult males per household 2.1

(*b*) Largest number of adult males per compound 11

~~21~~

[p. 21]